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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 25 August 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia)

- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations [114] [continued]

- The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: draft resolution; amendment [150] [continued]

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 114 (continued)

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/46/868/Add.4)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/46/868/Add.4, to be issued shortly, which contains the text of a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that, since the issuance of his communications dated 4 February, 13 April, 18 June and 24 August 1992, Benin has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 150 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

(a) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/46/L/76)

(b) AMENDMENT (A/46/L.77)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to draw the attention of representatives to the fact that the General Assembly now has before it, in addition to the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76, and amendment submitted by the Russian Federation in document A/46/L.77.

Before I call on the first speaker, I wish to thank those representatives who delivered their statements yesterday at the times to which they had committed themselves.

Mr. LUNA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): I am very pleased to see my good friend Ambassador Shihabi once again presiding over the General Assembly.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

The delegation of Peru supported the inclusion of the item "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina" on the agenda of the General Assembly. We did so because the situation involves States Members of the United Nations; the use of force; the occupation and the intent to usurp the territory of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations; massive violations of human rights; and the failure to observe the norms of international law, international humanitarian law and the principles of the Charter. Accordingly, my delegation would now like to make the following brief comments.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

First, in our opinion the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is essentially a regional European problem.

Secondly, it is thus up to regional European institutions and machinery to discharge primary responsibility in the search for broad and comprehensive political solutions to the crisis. However, it is also necessary to establish conditions enabling United Nations bodies and the Secretary-General equitably to fulfil the functions assigned to them by the Charter.

Thirdly, Peru supports the efforts now being made by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the European Community, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference to end the hostilities and establish permanent machinery for negotiations between the parties.

Fourthly, Peru has recognized the Republics of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fifthly, my country is concerned that the conflict in the former Yugoslavia might spread; that the measures taken thus far might prove to be ineffective; that the failure to observe international law and the violation of human rights could continue; and, finally, that the heinous policy of "ethnic cleansing" being practised - an affront to the international community which mankind vigourously repudiates.

Mr. GHAFOORZAI (Afghanistan): As this is the first time after the victorious establishment of the Islamic State of Afghanistan that my delegation has spoken before the General Assembly, allow me to express to you, our brother, our warmest and most heartfelt congratulations upon your election to such a high office. For our delegation, it is a matter of great pleasure to see a brother from Saudi Arabia - with which Afghanistan has maintained very fraternal and amicable relations - presiding here. You have guided the

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

forty-sixth session of the General Assembly with great wisdom and insight. We are certain that your qualities as a skilful diplomat will ensure the successful conclusion of this session.

With the collapse of communism and the end of the cold war, a desirable and necessary condition has been provided for the further promotion and strenghening of the role of the United Nations as a world Organization that is the source of expectations and hope to the world family. Bloc policy has given way to a more cooperative relationship between East and West. The threat of nuclear confrontation and of weapons of mass destruction is no longer apparent.

However, the world community is still faced with new problems arising out of the pursuit of unfavourable policies aimed at promoting aggressive forces in the quest for the subjugation of the rights of people to self-determination and self-defence, as well as the quest for ethnic superiority.

The General Assembly, as the highest authority of this world family, is resuming its deliberations to focus its attention on the situation in the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the logic of force seems to be trying to impose itself upon the reason of law and order and to undermine the fundamental rights of a nation. The Islamic State of Afghanistan and its people express their deep sympathy with the Muslims and other nationalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina who have fallen victim to aggression.

Afghanistan, having itself been a victim of the policy of aggression in the last decade, feels the grievances of the innocent people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We condemn the aggressions committed upon this small and innocent country. We also condemn the mass violations of international

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

humanitarian law, the summary, arbitrary executions, forced disappearances, torture, arbitrary arrests and detentions, and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of innocent civilians by Serb nationalists supported by the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). While the international community is focusing its joint efforts on the final eradication of the abhorrent policy of apartheid, another form of such an unjustifiable and cruel policy - namely, "ethnic cleansing" - is oppressing the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our opposition to the aggression against national sovereignty, territorial integrity, fundamental human rights, and the unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not based on Islamic solidarity alone. It is a matter of principle to stand in defence of the oppressed against the oppressor and aggressor; it matters not whether the oppressed is a Muslim or non-Muslim nation. We consider it our moral duty to stand firm and play a sincere role in the implementation of resolutions adopted by this world body towards putting an end to such an illegal situation.

For some time, the United Nations has involved itself in the grave situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) are among 13 other resolutions adopted on the subject and constitute the manifestation of a deep international concern with the gravity of the circumstances in that war-torn country. However, international pressure does not seem to be complementing the attempts of the United Nations to avert a catastrophe. In spite of the Security Council's adoption of resolutions; the endeavours of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary-General, and his Special Representative for Yugoslavia; the commendable efforts of the European Community; and the courageous services of the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina - the situation is growing even worse and the fighting is escalating.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

The clear intention of the Serb nationalists, encouraged and armed by their supporters, to solve the crisis in an unjust way through the forcible displacement of the population, as well as the Serbs' considerable advantage in armaments, place the Bosnian and Herzegovinian people in a difficult position as it reaches out to the international community and asks for the political, economic, and military support of the peace-loving countries, with the aim of being able to exercise its fundamental right to self-defence, as enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation believes that, if we are to put an immediate end to this challenge to international justice and the principles of international law, restore peace and tranquility by rejecting the theory of the acquisition of territory by force, and promote international legitimacy, this resumed session of the General Assembly should then give clear signals that invoking Article 42 of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is the next and probably last alternative. That is why my delegation supported the convening of this resumed session and is now pleased to be a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76.

(Mr. Ghafoorzai, Afghanistan)

By casting an affirmative vote on this draft resolution, we will take the first effective step towards the withdrawal of all military and paramilitary forces from the country of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will enable its people to enjoy democracy, social justice, peace and human rights, and friendly relations with all its neighbours. We believe that if aggression is terminated and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are left alone, different ethnic groups could once again coexist in peace and understanding.

As to the question of succession, my delegation too has difficulties, mainly due to the unfavourable attitude adopted by the Government of Yugoslavia (Serbia-Montenegro) in dealing with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Recognition of and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the withdrawal of all military and paramilitary forces from that war-stricken country could pave the way for the matter to be decided on by this Organization. However, an immediate end to the present unlawful circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina would create an atmosphere in which the newly created countries that constituted former Yugoslavia could settle the matter.

In conclusion, I quote a prayer which says: "Oh God, give us the power to change what we can change and the strength to accept what we cannot." May God Almighty give power to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to change this illegal situation and the strength to Serbia-Montenegro to accept what they cannot change.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Afghanistan for the very kind words he addressed to me. I wish him, and I also wish the Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, all progress and well-being. I look forward to its playing a positive role in the international arena.

Mr. JARAMILLO (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): I should first like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the intelligent and skilful manner in which you have been conducting the meetings of the forty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Similarly, I wish to thank you for your diligence in convening these meetings to consider the tragic situation of the Muslim and Croatian inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The most eloquent proof of the seriousness of the conflict today in the Balkans is the convening of these meetings, which have brought together the various countries of the world in this General Assembly.

For many months now, we have been witnessing this most intolerable form of aggression, which must be condemned by all people of civilized conscience. But we have also noted with dismay the unacceptably slow response of those who should have acted on the appeals for assistance by the defenceless people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the people of a State that a few weeks ago was admitted to membership in our Organization. The Security Council has not yet adopted the full range of measures made available to it by the Charter to deal with situations of unprecedented cruelty such as this one, which threatens peace and security.

The people and the Government of Colombia - and this is why I have asked to speak - consider that that people's most basic rights have been most cruelly violated as a result of the unacceptable events that have taken place in this recently created Republic, a friendly and independent country which is the victim of intolerable acts committed by Serbia and Montenegro, the army of the former Yugoslavia and its associated paramilitary groups.

That at this point in history "ethnic cleansing" or ethnic eradication should be imposed on a people is unacceptable; it cannot be tolerated, as it

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

is contrary to the most elementary principles of international humanitarian law, contrary to the basic rules of coexistence among peoples.

For these reasons, Colombia has supported actions taken by the United Nations with the sole purpose of putting an end to external aggression. Bosnia and Herzegovina, unable to defend itself adequately, has been seeking the most elementary form of assistance that the international community can provide, assistance that would make it possible for it to survive as a sovereign State and enable its inhabitants to live peacefully on their own territory.

My delegation considers that the time has come to put an end to all this outrage and to arrive at a speedy political solution to the situation. We believe, however, that any action taken in this Organization must strictly comply with the Charter and be either in keeping with the conciliatory measures under Chapter VI or the more forceful measures under Chapter VII, on the understanding that it would be up to the Security Council to determine the action to be taken.

We believe that any operation that might involve the use of force should begin and continue strictly under the mandate and control of the United Nations. Only in this manner can we guarantee the clarity of purpose that must be maintained in a conflict such as this one.

Colombia supports the terms of the draft resolution before us for consideration, and we understand that those terms are in keeping with what I have just stated.

We deplore the serious situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the deep deterioration in the living conditions of its inhabitants, especially the

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

Croatian and Muslim populations. This situation is the result of the acts of aggression committed by the army of Serbia and Montenegro and the paramilitary unit they sponsor. We do not recognize any territorial conquest resulting from the use of force or violent aggression.

Recalling the terms of the draft resolution, we are concerned that the conflict might spread, given the continued violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia. We are also concerned that the measures aimed at putting an end to "ethnic cleansing" and ethnic eradication might not be applied effectively.

We note the terms of the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76:

> "Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law within the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including reports of mass forcible expulsions and deportations of civilians, imprisonment and abuse of civilians in detention centres and deliberate attacks on non-combatants, hospitals and ambulances, impeding the delivery of food and medical supplies to the civilian population, as well as wanton devastation of destruction of property", (A/46/L.76, ninth preambular paragraph)

and

> "... reports of summary and arbitrary executions, forced disappearances, torture, rape and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, as well as arbitrary arrest and detention," (ibid., thirteenth preambular paragraph)

(Mr. Jaramillo, Colombia)

We should like to endorse the overriding need to find urgently a peaceful solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the tenets of international law, particularly with reference to the rights of peoples and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. But should the search for a peaceful solution fail, we consider that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be allowed to exercise its right to self-defence and should thus be excluded from the arms embargo established by the pertinent resolution.

However, we likewise feel that the strangely complacent acceptance of the presence among us of those whom we consider aggressors and violators of all the rights that we preach and uphold, the rights which constitute the very basis, the raison d'être of the Organization, does not square with our declarations of repudiation and the measures we have been taking. The legal question of the succession to the disintegrated Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be defined as soon as possible. The presence in this Hall of the representatives of Serbia and Montenegro does not imply that Colombia accepts their automatic succession.

Colombia is prepared to join the international community in the adoption of all the measures necessary to guarantee the lives and integrity of the persons and ethnic groups that are threatened and the very existence of a State Member of the Organization.

Mr. ARIDOR (Israel): Fifty-six years ago, in Geneva, on 3 July 1936, a gunshot rang out in the press gallery during a meeting of the League of Nations. Stefan Lux, a Jew from Germany who had fled Hitler, had committed suicide. In his briefcase were found letters which he had written from the heart, signed from his soul and in the end sealed with his blood. Lux's letters called upon the nations of the world to open their eyes to what

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

was happening to Jews in Germany and not to show indifference. But even that gunshot did not awaken and mobilize the League of Nations. The League of Nations continued to go about its business as usual and thus ensured its own demise.

The United Nations has heard the gunshots. It has seen the pictures on television. It has read the reports. We cannot choose silence. We dare not choose silence. Yes, we do speak, but even the most eloquent words of challenge will be quickly forgotten if they remain words not followed by deeds. And it is only deeds that will stop the suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Israel is shocked by the events in the Balkans. As Jews, we always have feelings of empathy for the suffering of other human beings, be they Christians, Muslims, anyone. That is the lesson which our own tragic history has instilled in us. As part of the international effort to ease the humanitarian crisis, Israel has sent humanitarian aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina under the auspices of the United Nations. Israel has agreed to consider favourably contributing to the supervision of heavy weapons in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event that such a task is added to the existing mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

We hope that the peace conference on Yugoslavia scheduled to begin in London on Wednesday will bear fruit. It is now time for the sides to pursue peace with as much determination as they have pursued war.

Reports of "ethnic cleansing" and detention centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina have sent shudders through the people of Israel. Such practices are abhorrent and despicable and they should be halted at once. But it seems as if the world has not learned much from the events of five and six decades ago.

(Mr. Aridor, Israel)

Practices of terror prevail in parts of Bosnia. They must be stopped. The writing is on the wall. Let the United Nations, let the entire world fulfil its duty.

Mr. ABU ODEH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, at the outset, to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, as I am addressing the General Assembly for the first time.

I also wish to add my voice to those who have preceded me in expressing thanks and appreciation, on behalf of my delegation, for the prompt response in resuming this session of the General Assembly to deal with the issue of the tragic and grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am confident that we will be able, working under your stewardship, to achieve the best results from these meetings, that is, to prompt the Security Council to go forward with the measures it has taken to deal with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in conformity with the principles of the Charter and international law, and I hope that the General Assembly will adopt by consensus the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76, dated 24 August 1992, which my country has the honour to co-sponsor.

We would not be holding these meetings of the General Assembly near the close of the forty-sixth session had the Security Council's repeated calls for a cease-fire in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina been heeded and had a number of successive Security Council resolutions on the issue over a period of four months been heeded.

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

We are meeting to express the condemnation of many States of the apparent slackening of international efforts to put an end to the blatant aggression being committed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country newly admitted to the United Nations, so that it might work with the international community in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, international law and the principles of the United Nations. We are also meeting to urge the Security Council immediately to fulfil its responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security and stopping the acts of aggression against a State Member of the United Nations. The Council should take additional relevant measures in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter to end the aggression and to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Simply speaking, we are facing a situation in which a country newly admitted to the United Nations is being exposed to the outside military interference and military aggression of a stronger country. The nature of this act of aggression, together with barbaric acts and inhuman behaviour - foremost among which is the "ethnic cleansing" aimed at changing the ethnic composition of that State in order to achieve certain regional ambitions and political desires - gives our meeting a special importance. We are not seeking to work only to protect a State Member of the United Nations; we are also working for the protection of the human values and democratic principles of the international community as we build and maintain the concept of collective security as the pillar of international law based on cooperation instead of confrontation.

The world has dealt so far with the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina at two levels. First, at the human level, international and regional organizations and agencies have provided praiseworthy assistance in

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

the midst of extremely difficult circumstances. Such assistance does not always receive the credit it deserves. The United Nations Protection Force is foremost among those that deserve our praise and appreciation for its courageous efforts in securing relief supplies for the hungry, the sick and the injured, especially in the face of great obstacles.

As for the second level, the diplomatic world, meritorious efforts are being made within the framework of the peace conference to be held under the auspices of the European Community in order that the parties may reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

We wish to recognize all the humane and diplomatic efforts that have been made, but we also believe that they are not enough in themselves to put an end to this tragedy and to stop the Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is made obvious by the fact that the aggression has so far gone unchecked. Circumstances are growing daily more favourable to the aggressor. In the final analysis, the United Nations, through its agencies and forces, is still dealing with the results of the aggression, not its causes. In spite of the sanctions against Serbia, the sources of aggression have not even slightly abated.

Here, we have to grapple with the crisis at a third level, i.e., the discharging by the Security Council of its responsibilities in accordance with Article 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter.

Several political statements were heard during the previous Security Council meetings on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such statements were made by some Member States in good faith, which frequently suggested the lack of seriousness on the part of the Security Council to deter the Serbian aggression. At least this is how the aggressor interpreted those statements,

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

such as reference to two obdurate parties to the conflict, difficult terrain or advanced arms in the hands of an unorganized army and so on - matters which were linked before to stress the difficulty of using force to repulse the aggression meted out on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We hope that this is not the situation. Should it be so, as a corollary, what determines the application of the provisions of the Charter in a conflict, and their non-application in another conflict, are factors of geography, demography and the psychology of the warring parties and not the aggression per se, whatever its degree of violation of international law and the United Nations principles.

In spite of the praiseworthy efforts of the United Nations, it has so far been unable to protect the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its people. Outside aggression continues against a Member State of our Organization.

Security Council resolution 724 (1991), which imposed a formal embargo against Yugoslavia, was adopted in different circumstances. It had the deleterious effect, unforeseen when it was adopted, of weakening the victim and removing its means of self-defence. At least the victim State should be able to defend itself in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. In order to reddress the situation, Security Council resolution 724 (1991) should be reconsidered with a view to exempting Bosnia and Herzegovina from its provisions. Certain other measures should be aimed at stopping the aggression, returning the refugees to their towns, villages, and farms, and pushing the aggressor back within its original borders.

In conclusion, nothing should prevent the United Nations from taking prompt and effective measures to stop the aggression, to maintain the

(Mr. Abu Odeh, Jordan)

territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the political independence and the sovereignty of its Government throughout its territory, and to reverse all the effects and reverberations of the aggression to date. We are confident that the peace conference to be held under the auspices of the European Community will take all these elements into account in securing a comprehensive settlement of the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is high time to resolve this problem and relieve the suffering in order to build stability, coexistence and cooperation among all the peoples of the Balkans.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, I should like to reaffirm Ecuador's pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over this session of the General Assembly with your talent and well-known wisdom. Ecuador applauds the initiative of the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to convene the General Assembly to deal with the delicate problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As I said in the Security Council, my country shares the anguish of the international community as we observe the continuing crisis, in which the most painful expressions of human suffering go hand in hand with the most reprehensible expressions of cruelty, abuse, and policies of oppression and death, which we had hoped had been completely eradicated. Policies of "ethnic cleansing" and their corollaries - deportations, refugees and the death of innocent civilians - deserve our vigorous and unconditional condemnation.

This morning, we witnessed the destruction that nature was capable of causing in the city of Miami, Florida. How much more anguish and pain have we felt over the past days, weeks and months as we have witnessed the destruction, pain, and anguish caused by man in Bosnia and Herzegovina - extremely reprehensible actions that should give us pause for reflection.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

Ecuador attaches particular importance to the role that the international community must play in promoting a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav conflict. For that reason, in the Security Council we supported all initiatives aimed at finding such a solution, as well as the humanitarian measures adopted to help defenceless civilians caught up in the conflict.

No effort in defence of peace can be excessive. The General Assembly will doubtless contribute, with all the weight of its moral authority and its democratic structures and within the framework of the principles of the Charter of our Organization, to facilitating the cessation of the conflict and the restoration of a peaceful life to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ecuador firmly believes that any genuine solution to the dispute must be based on respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Disagreements must be settled by the peaceful means laid down in the Charter. Force only complicates the problems and only apparently solves them, when in fact it delays solutions and prolongs conflicts.

In this as in any other case, Ecuador believes that the basis of a solution must be unconditional respect for the principle that the acquisition of territory by the use of force is inadmissible and cannot create any rights for the aggressor. The pillar of peace in the region is respect for the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and for its sovereignty, political independence and right to democratic self-determination regarding the form of government most suitable to all the inhabitants of the country.

The General Assembly is meeting on the eve of the convening of the London Conference. We must give decisive support to the regional initiatives and measures designed to secure a comprehensive solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia. The European regional bodies' capacity to act is being put to the

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

test of effectiveness and dynamism. In that respect, there can be no doubt that both the ongoing work of the Security Council and the decision to be adopted by the General Assembly will be important factors in the negotiating process.

Of course, success will depend above all on the will and determination of the parties to the conflict. Above all, hostilities must cease immediately. In addition to alleviating the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that will contribute to creating an atmosphere favourable to dialogue. We must also give the International Committee of the Red Cross immediate, permanent and unrestricted access to all the sites where it is necessary to investigate the violation of human rights and the failure to comply with the obligations of the Conventions on humanitarian law. We must provide for the repatriation of the refugees and for reparation for losses suffered. Finally, all the parties must take the measures necessary to protect and ensure the security of the members of the United Nations Protection Force and all the members of the humanitarian organizations that are doing such selfless, heroic work in former Yugoslavia.

Those fundamental elements are reflected in the draft resolution before the General Assembly. Hence, Ecuador, which welcomed the decision taken by the Assembly to expedite a debate on this subject, will support the draft resolution.

Mr. AL-SUWAIDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation is very pleased to offer you, Mr. President, its congratulations on your wise guidance of the General Assembly at this resumed session, and also our sincere thanks for ensuring that the item on Bosnia and Herzegovina

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United Arab Emirates)

was included in the Assembly's agenda and that the Assembly was convened so speedily.

The Assembly is meeting now to address the flagrant aggression against the territory and people of a State Member of the United Nations. There have been serious breaches of the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Other serious violations of human rights have occurred, such as the massacre of civilians, including women and children, aimed at forcing them to leave their homes and at achieving the "ethnic cleansing" of the Muslim areas.

It is not enough for the international community to condemn the methods used by the Serbs in their racist war against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. What is required is the application of international law in all its aspects, in order to put an end to this aggression which poses a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

If the international community is to find a way out of the dilemma posed by the actions of the Serbian forces and those who support them, it is our duty to exert serious efforts to stop the aggression and to ensure that its consequences are not recognized. We must also work to ensure the prompt return of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the villages and towns now occupied by Serbian forces, as well as reparation for the destruction of their homes and other property.

The achievement of those legal aims is not in itself in contradiction with lifting the embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina and continuing the embargo against the aggressor and thereby enabling Bosnia and Herzegovina to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, in accordance with provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United Arab Emirates)

Those who have engaged in the practices of "ethnic cleansing", displacement, detention, torture and other inhuman actions must be brought to justice so that these heinous crimes will not be committed in the future, in which we all expect mankind to enjoy security, peace and stability.

Although the international efforts in regard to the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have not so far been able to deter the aggressor and to impose international legitimacy, we commend the humanitarian efforts exerted by the United Nations through its various agencies, especially the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as the efforts made by the International Committee of the Red Cross and by many States. In this respect, the United Arab Emirates, under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Sultan Bin Zayed Al Nahayyan, the Head of State, has provided all kinds of humanitarian assistance, including medical supplies and equipment, since the very beginning of the ordeal. It is continuing its efforts to alleviate the suffering of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In conclusion, my delegation supports the draft resolution in document A/46/L.76, which was introduced by the representative of Turkey on behalf of the Member States that are its sponsors.

(Mr. Al-Suwaidi, United Arab Emirates)

My delegation has the honour to be a sponsor of the draft resolution, which we hope will be adopted by consensus. We shall support any other measures the Assembly sees fit to adopt in order to stop the stark violations of the Charter, of international law and of international human rights instruments, conventions and treaties.

Mr. HADID (Algeria) (interpretation from French): This resumption of the forty-sixth session, to consider the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is particularly timely. It gives an opportunity for the international community to pronounce itself resolutely on the side of law and to show its effective support for the restoration of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as its rejection of aggression, cruel treatment and serious violations of human rights in that war-torn Republic, which is a Member of the United Nations.

Algeria, a sponsor of the draft resolution, has been following with great sadness the tragic events that we are considering. Last April we drew the Security Council's attention to the seriousness of the situation and the dangers of escalation.

Faced with the continuing aggression and the untold suffering which are the daily lot of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Algeria has taken a number of steps. They include recalling our ambassador to Belgrade, scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolution 757 (1992), despite our very close economic ties with the former Yugoslavia, and participation in the international humanitarian aid effort, particularly in the provision of food aid and pharmaceuticals for Bosnian children.

On the eve of the London Conference on Yugoslavia, and while the Security Council remains seized of the item we are discussing, it seems to us

(Mr. Hadid, Algeria)

essential that the Assembly speak out vigorously on three major aspects of the crisis.

The moral aspect requires us to express strong support for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their resistance to aggression as well as to denounce the ugly crimes being perpetrated there.

The political aspect requires us not to recognize any gains made through aggression. Here it is essential to stress the need to respect Bosnia and Herzegovina's territorial integrity and the sovereignty of this State Member of the United Nations.

Finally, the humanitarian aspect compels us to meet the challenge of providing the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina with essential products and to guarantee their delivery.

Those are the basic aspects of the question requiring urgent action by the international community, which must shoulder its responsibilities when faced with this terrible tragedy.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to express my delegation's appreciation of the able manner in which you have been presiding over the proceedings of the Assembly. Of course, we are not surprised. We are confident that under your wise direction the Assembly will have very fruitful deliberations. I should also like to place on record my delegation's appreciation for the prompt attention given to the request for urgent consideration of the issue before us.

The end of the cold war brought high expectations that the international community was being ushered into a period in which the rule of law and accepted norms of international behaviour would reign supreme, an era in which international peace and security would be assured by safeguarding the

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

territorial integrity of all nations, big or small, and by promoting respect for the human rights of all peoples.

Unfortunately, however, the realization of this ideal is being seriously challenged by the events taking place in the territories of the former Yugoslavia. The events currently going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina stand in striking contrast to the purposes and principles of this Organization. Furthermore, it is a matter of extreme concern that they are taking place in the presence of one of the largest peace-keeping operations ever mounted by the United Nations, an operation in which my country is proud and privileged to participate.

We are deeply concerned that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State Member of this Organization are being violated with such impunity and its people subjected to untold suffering and hardship. The recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign and independent country by the international community and its admission to membership of the United Nations imposes an obligation on all Member States to guarantee that country's territorial integrity. Thus we join preceding speakers in condemning the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Similarly, we strongly deplore the massive violation of human rights going on in the territory, a violation which is characterized by forcible expulsion and deportations, mass imprisonment and abuse of civilians, wanton destruction of lives and property, and impeding the delivery of desperately needed food and medical supplies. We unequivocally reject the policy of "ethnic cleansing" and the undisguised attempt to create ethnically pure areas. Nigeria's own experience as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country is a living repudiation of such an odious policy.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

My delegation believes that it is our obligation, both collectively as States Members of the United Nations and also individually as sovereign nations, to act firmly and decisively to bring an end to this tragedy. We therefore urge all the parties concerned urgently to seek a peaceful solution. We appreciate the efforts of the United Nations, and in particular commend the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for the untiring efforts and dedication of its personnel. In the same vein, we welcome Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992), which aim at ensuring that humanitarian assistance reaches all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that international humanitarian agencies have unrestricted access to prison camps and detention centres.

But clearly much more needs to be done. Even as the Assembly started its deliberations yesterday, the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina intensified. With each passing day the death toll is rising and the suffering increasing. There is an urgent need to stop the bloodshed and anguish immediately. The longer it goes on, the more intractable the situation becomes and the greater the danger of the conflict's widening to include other areas.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

Secondly, to facilitate the cessation of fighting, human rights must be respected and their violation must cease immediately. Just as the United Nations is authorized to use "all means necessary" to ensure the unimpeded delivery of relief and humanitarian assistance, the international community should consider appropriate measures to bring an immediate end to the atrocities.

Thirdly, all efforts to acquire territory by force and all attempts to change the ethnic composition of the various areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be rejected and the perpetrators must be held accountable for the consequences of their actions.

In addition, all deportees, refugees and other displaced persons must be afforded safety and the right to return to their homes, their confiscated properties returned to them and their right to receive reparations for their losses assured.

Finally, the safety and security of United Nations personnel, relief and humanitarian agencies and international observers, including the media, must be guaranteed.

It is extremely disturbing that in these early days of an emerging new world order, all the ideals to which the international community of nations aspired could be so flagrantly challenged. With firmness of purpose, determination and a commitment to the rule of law, the international community can positively meet this challenge and act to restore international peace and security, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in other areas of conflict in the world, such as Somalia. The new world order should not tolerate aggression and repression but instead should protect and uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter, respect for the rule of law and the defence of the fundamental human rights of all peoples.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

In conclusion, while we look forward to the reconvening of the London conference and the resumption of serious negotiations to settle this conflict, the international community must take urgent steps to bring an immediate end to the senseless violence. Guided by our obligations and commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and our deep desire for the maintenance of international peace and security, my Government supports the draft resolution before us today and we strongly urge all the parties concerned to comply with its terms faithfully.

Mr. DORANI (Djibouti) (interpretation from Arabic): First of all, I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for all your efforts leading to our consideration of the item on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina at this session and the inclusion of this important subject in the agenda for the next session of the General Assembly. Allow me also, Sir, to congratulate all the representatives who have participated in helping to highlight this important issue and for the commendable efforts they have made in this area.

(spoke in French)

The world is horrified at the war that is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That brotherly country has faced external armed aggression for several months now by armed elements belonging to the former Yugoslav militia, or the former Yugoslav army, and seeking to establish Greater Serbia by combining regions inhabited by Serbs in the Balkans. In effect, these forces are being manipulated, but they are also, significantly, in the pay of former Serbian political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina who thirst for blood and power; hence the perhaps deliberate use of the misnomer "civil war" to describe the situation in Bosnia. They have chosen war over elections and have very quickly revealed their true design, which is to seize power, not

(Mr. Dorani, Djibouti)

only through the war they have forced on Bosnians but also, unfortunately, through the extermination of an entire people.

The existence of concentration camps is a slap in the face of humanity. It attests to the inhumane nature of the conflict and the ruthless way the Bosnians are being treated. All the atrocities being committed, particularly against Bosnian Muslims, are repeated daily before the eyes of the whole world, which looks on with great indignation and frustration.

Despite the repeated promises of the Serbian authorities, a cease-fire has not been possible. The convoys of humanitarian aid are regularly subjected to military attack, the latest resolution adopted by the Security Council on this question notwithstanding.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Serbian authorities are using the conflict to practice a policy of "ethnic cleansing".

We hope that two resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted by the Security Council - resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) - and the resolution that will be adopted today, with our support, will induce the Serbian side to put an end to this ignoble war with its unattainable aims, failing which the Security Council will have to shoulder its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The young Bosnian Republic today needs the unstinted support of the international community in order to defend itself, in keeping with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The right of a people to territorial integrity is sacred. It is particlularly sacred since Bosnian pluralism has deep roots in that land. It admits of no separation and cannot tolerate, in the south or the north, in the east or the west, any kind of amputation.

(Mr. Dorani, Djibouti)

The country will have its peace and unity restored when the guns are silenced, the militias dissolved, the causes of the conflict eliminated and the barriers between regions brought down, when all refugees can return to their homes and when, finally, all citizens can be reassembled in their State, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In conclusion, the delegation of Djibouti wishes to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to the Security Council, to the United Nations forces, to all United Nations bodies, to the Organization of the Islamic Conference and to the European Economic Community for their resolve to settle the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. PASHOVSKI (Bulgaria): On behalf of the Bulgarian delegation I welcome the convening of the General Assembly to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since the very onset of the conflict in Yugoslavia, the Republic of Bulgaria has declared itself to be in favour of a peaceful settlement by political means. It has followed with growing concern the continuing bloodshed and the suffering of thousands of innocent people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bulgaria was among the first to call attention to the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing", a practice that is in gross violation of international humanitarian law. My country has expressed its deep concern that such a policy is not only a breach of internationally recognized human rights but also a destabilizing factor in the Balkans.

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

The international community should strongly condemn all those actions, including mass forcible expulsion and deportation of civilians, imprisonment and abuse in detention centres and other violations of human rights. It is our obligation under Article I of the 1949 Geneva Conventions not only to respect international humanitarian law but also to ensure its strict respect by others.

The Republic of Bulgaria welcomed the extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights and co-sponsored its decision to investigate allegations of human-rights abuses throughout the former Yugoslavia, and within Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, and the appointment of Mr. Mazowiecki as United Nations Special Rapporteur. We wish him success in his complicated mission.

Bulgaria also supported the decision of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to send rapporteur missions to the former Yugoslavia. In our opinion, the issue concerning human rights there should be considered by the Council of Europe as well, where the relevant machinery and procedures exist.

We do not think that it is sufficient to stop the fighting. Machinery for an overall solution to the complex problems of the Balkans should be provided.

In this respect, the initiative launched by Mr. Stoyan Ganev, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, to convene a Balkan forum - a projection of the CSCE principles and machinery on the Balkans - is aimed at achieving this end. Such a process will create the framework for a solution to the existing problems based on respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and the inviolability of frontiers. It will apply the already

(Mr. Pashovski, Bulgaria)

established machinery for dealing with problems in a democratic and peaceful way, in compliance with the norms of international law and the CSCE principles and provisions, for the sake of peace and security in the region.

The Bulgarian Government highly appreciates the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) aimed at ending the bloodshed, easing the suffering of the civilian population and ensuring the supply of humanitarian assistance. True to its principled position of not sending armed forces or armaments into neighbouring countries, a position it has also urged the remaining Balkan States to adopt, the Republic of Bulgaria will refrain from providing military personnel and equipment for peace-keeping operations in the former Yugoslavia.

We welcome Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) and all other relevant resolutions concerning the situation in the former Yugoslavia, and we strictly adhere to the imposed sanctions. In supporting the draft resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly, Bulgaria expresses its hope that a quick and complete solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the former Yugoslavia in general, will be arrived at through peaceful means. The international conference opening in London tomorrow should be encouraged by the international community to produce fruitful results in its vital task.

Mr. BIVERO (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Venezuela wishes to express first of all its strong condemnation of violence and the human-rights violations that are still taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most abhorrent expression of this violence is the so-called policy of ethnic cleansing.

Venezuela believes that one of the parties to the conflict, especially

(Mr. Bivero, Venezuela)

the Serbian leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have violated all the norms of civilized coexistence in an attempt to capture territories, to displace populations and to separate human beings only because they belong to different ethnic groups. Such practices, in the opinion of the Government of Venezuela, cannot but be vigorously rejected by the General Assembly.

The Government of Venezuela demands that an end be put to these actions immediately and will support the adoption of all necessary measures, as the recent resolution of the Commission on Human Rights adopted at its first extraordinary special session says, to ensure full respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and humanitarian law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are convinced that a stable solution to the present conflict in the former Yugoslavia can be reached only in the peaceful diplomatic and political settlement that has been proposed by the expanded European Conference on Yugoslavia. There will soon be another opportunity to resolve this conflict in London, and we warmly welcome that opportunity.

Those who insist on using force have lost sight of the complexity of the present Yugoslav conflict, historically and at present, and it is now manifest in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The responsibility of States Members of the Organization is now being sorely tested. We must focus our debates and the decision that we will adopt in the General Assembly on the positive prospect of a fruitful development in the negotiations that are beginning in London. We must also try to promote dialogue and meetings between those who are now fighting in the field in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must ensure that the United Nations is perceived by all parties as an impartial and objective guarantor of their interests.

(Mr. Bivero, Venezuela)

Venezuela, as a member of the Security Council, has systematically worked along these lines. In recognizing the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we expressed our determination to contribute to safeguarding their interests and their national rights. Hence we warmly welcome this debate, and our delegation expresses its readiness to contribute towards achieving a result that is in the best interests of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. TATTENBACH (Costa Rica) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, my delegation wishes to congratulate you, Sir, on the outstanding job you have done as President of the General Assembly during its forty-sixth session. We are also pleased with the speed with which you have convened these meetings to deal with a matter of crucial significance.

My delegation shares the anguish and the indignation that have been expressed by the speakers who preceded me in the discussion of the grave conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Costa Rica, whose commitment to the Charter began nearly 50 years ago, cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of the civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the flagrant violations of the Charter, and of international humanitarian law in particular.

(Mr. Tattenbach, Costa Rica)

The delegation of Costa Rica, which represents a people which cherishes peace, the respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the negotiated peaceful settlement of disputes, joins others who have spoken out here. We repeat that the international community cannot condone these flagrant violations of the sovereignty, political independence and integrity of a State Member of the United Nations, in this case Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This spectrum of violations has been perpetrated to achieve a hateful and unacceptable goal: "ethnic cleansing", a diabolical notion. We condemn that policy, which has brought untold destruction and suffering to innocent victims.

As a member of the Commission on Human Rights, we favoured the convening of an extraordinary session of the Commission - the first in the history of that body - to consider the matter with due haste. We support the Commission's resolution in all its aspects, including the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to investigate the situation on the ground.

We believe that the best solution to this critical situation would be an immediate cease-fire and the commencement of direct negotiations between the parties. Here the cooperation of the international community is indispensable; indeed, the present meetings send an unequivocal message to those who are guilty of crimes against humanity.

Among the alternatives that have been put forward, we find a solution based on ethnic cantonization to be unacceptable and inappropriate. The independence, sovereignty and integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina must always be preserved.

It goes without saying that we support the recent Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 757 (1992), which imposes sanctions on

(Mr. Tattenbach, Costa Rica)

Serbia and Montenegro, and 770 (1992), which lays down the guidelines and measures necessary to bring humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and, as necessary, to other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We also believe that the right of a sovereign, independent State like Bosnia and Herzegovina to self-defence must not be limited by depriving it of access to what it needs to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defence guaranteed in Article 51 of the Charter.

It is important to note that, in the midst of the tragedy and of the horror with which the world has witnessed these sad events, there is also a universal conscience that is prepared to face this situation setting aside differences, political interests and nationalism.

We unequivocally affirm that in the face of this retrograde savagery a new thinking is emerging in the international community, which is no longer prepared to condone outrageous violations of solemn treaties and human dignity.

Mr. HASSANOV (Azerbaijan) (interpretation from Russian): Along with many other delegations, the Republic of Azerbaijan was among those who called for the resumption of this session of the General Assembly to discuss the tragic situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we attach great importance to the results of our deliberations.

For several months the whole world has watched with concern the unceasing aggression of one well-armed State against a young State Member of the United Nations. Reports from the region indicate that the inhuman cruelty continues. As a result of the war and the policy of "ethnic cleansing" unleashed by the Serbian nationalists, hundreds of thousands have been killed, including civilians, and there is a huge number of refugees whose only crime is their nationality.

(Mr. Hassanov, Azerbaijan)

We have witnessed the implementation of one of the most fallacious notions: the national territorial rights of one State have been openly violated to meet the national territorial ambitions of another. It is scarcely credible, but sadly true that the aggressor has revived concentration camps, which mankind and history have condemned.

The United Nations represents different State and legislative systems and many religions and has incorporated many new independent States. The world continues to intensify and globalize international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields, without regard for race, sex, language or religion. But while international thinking has been restructured, with great emphasis on universal human values, the leaders of certain countries unfortunately continue to try to expand their territory at the expense of other States, and use all means at their disposal, including military means, to do so.

In that connection, I recall that in his Agenda for Peace, the Secretary-General indicated that

"Globalism and nationalism need not be viewed as opposing trends, doomed to spur each other on to extremes of reaction. ... The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead. Respect for democratic principles at all levels of social existence is crucial: in communities, within States and within the community of States". (A/47/277, para. 19)

Developing the Secretary-General's thought, I want to say first of all that the great United Nations family should determine that, in the case of the

(Mr. Hassanov, Azerbaijan)

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, what we see is the clear wish of one well-armed State to expand its territory at the expense of another. Looking for religious or political motivations in this conflict can only lead us away from the truth of the matter. The Republic of Azerbaijan finds it very easy to understand the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina; we too have been the victim of contant aggression.

Countries that have been the victims of foreign aggression hope that the world community, through the United Nations, will act under Chapter VII of the Charter to curb the aggressor. Thus, the General Assembly should not merely condemn the aggression and the atrocities committed against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but should guarantee that similar situations will not recur in the future.

In sum, my delegation appeals to the General Assembly to call upon the Security Council to take all necessary steps under Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to hostilities in the region; to restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; to support the Government and the people of the independent State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to exercise their right to self-defence; to demand the withdrawal of all military formations, in particular the Yugoslav army, from the entire territory of independent, sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina; to demand the cessation of the ghastly practice of "ethnic cleansing", which runs counter to all norms of international law; to take all necessary steps to put an end to the mass forcible expulsions of civilians from their homes; and to help the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes, with compensation for material damage, provided by the side which unleashed this conflict.

(Mr. Hassanov, Azerbaijan)

In conclusion, let me express the conviction that the General Assembly will adopt the draft resolution before it, among whose sponsors is the Republic of Azerbaijan, and that that resolution will help put an end to the violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina and restore the unity and territorial integrity of that young, independent State.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): In accordance with General Assembly resolution 3369 (XXX), of 10 October 1975, I now call on the observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. TARZI (Organization of the Islamic Conference): Allow me at the outset to express our appreciation for the able manner in which you, Sir, have been presiding over the proceedings of the Assembly. We are confident that, under your wise direction, the Assembly will have fruitful deliberations. I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to address this resumed session of the of the General Assembly on an issue of such extreme importance to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) and which was initiated by the Islamic Group at the United Nations.

On behalf of Dr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, I express the deep concern of the OIC on the grave situation prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Organization of the Islamic Conference is very concerned about the widespread aggression against the innocent people of that Republic, whose population is in the majority Muslim and which is subjected to a violent and repressive campaign launched by the Serbian extremists with the support of the Yugoslav National Army, clearly aimed at subverting the political independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What we are witnessing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the brazen violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of a State Member of the United Nations by its neighbour. In fact, Serbian nationalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina have conducted a campaign of genocide with the full support and backing of Serbia and Montenegro. For over a year, the world has watched the ever deteriorating situation of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a people whose identity was and continues to be at great risk.

(Mr. Tarzi, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

The Organization of the Islamic Conference, alarmed by the grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, held the fifth extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in Istanbul from 17 to 18 June 1992. The fifth extraordinary session adopted a resolution in which, inter alia, it reaffirmed its full solidarity with and support for the Government and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their struggle to safeguard their sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, and unity. It strongly condemned the acts of violence and indiscriminate use of force by the Yugoslav National Army and Serbian irregular forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina and demanded the withdrawal, disarming and disbaning of all Serbian forces from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It urged the Security Council to invoke Article 42 of Chapter VII and called upon the Member States to provide full support to the United Nations in terms of personnel and resources for any measure deemed necessary by the Security Council for the enforcement and implementation of its resolutions relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is noticeable that several hundred officers and personnel from OIC members have already been serving in the United Nations Protection Force. The fifth extraordinary session held the Serbian authorities in Belgrade and Bosnia and Herzegovina alike fully responsible for the atrocities perpetrated by the Yugoslav National Army and the Serbian irregular forces against the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In reality, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been the innocent and unarmed victim of foreign aggression. We believe that Bosnia and Herzegovina may be exempted from the arms embargo imposed under Security Council resolution 713 (1992). As an independent State, Bosnia and Herzegovina has a legitimate right to self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Tarzi, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

The massive violations of human rights by the Serbian elements have been a source of great concern and anguish to the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which strongly condemned the atrocities being committed against the innocent and defenceless Muslims and Croats. The "ethnic cleansing" campaign of the Serbian elements is a crime against humanity and raises horrible memories of similar revolting activities conducted in Europe in the recent past.

In this connection, the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in a statement on 4 August 1992, strongly denounced and condemned the policy of "ethnic cleansing" being practised against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to whom he reaffirmed the full and active support of the OIC member States. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference called upon the international community to put an end to the expansion and extermination policy followed by Serbia in Bosnia and Herzegovina and underlined the pressing need to end the bloodshed.

The Secretary-General of the OIC also wishes to express his appreciation of the praiseworthy efforts being made by the United Nations and other humanitarian institutions to ensure the provision of necessary assistance to the victims of this tragedy. In this respect, the Secretary-General of the OIC requested the Islamic Development Bank to arrange for a special allocation of funds for assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Islamic Development Bank has already allocated an amount of $21 million for humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We welcome the recent adoption by the Security Council of resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that international humanitarian

(Mr. Tarzi, Organization of the Islamic Conference)

organizations, in particular the International Committee of the Red Cross, have unimpeded access to concentration camps and detention centres. We also appreciate the efforts made by the Commission on Human Rights in presenting the report of its first extraordinary session to the Economic and Social Council for endorsement. The resolution adopted, however comprehensive it may be in condemning the violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia, falls short of our expectations. We would have preferred the identification of the real culprits in this crime.

We welcome the growing number of United Nations Member States challenging the membership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations that is now being claimed by the new international, unrecognized federation formed between Serbia and Montenegro. In this regard, the fifth extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers urged all States not to recognize the succession of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until it fully complies with the Security Council resolutions concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina and formally and unequivocally recognizes the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity of that Republic, and until an agreement on the question of succession is reached among the States that constituted the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We wish to express our hope in this regard that the resolution, which was submitted by the representative of Turkey on behalf of the sponsors, will receive the maximum number of votes in the General Assembly and send an unequivocal signal to the aggressors that the international community cannot remain indifferent.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): In accordance with General Assembly resolutions 3237 (XXIX), of 22 November 1974, and 43/177, of 15 December 1988, I now call on the observer of Palestine.

Mr. MANSOUR (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): The observer delegation of Palestine is pleased to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the praiseworthy efforts you have made to strengthen the role of the General Assembly, in accordance with provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In the present historic circumstances, these efforts are steps towards positive action to promote international relations on a democratic basis and collective endeavours by all the members of the international community.

When the Republics and peoples of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia decided to establish their sovereign, independent States, many countries in the world, including my country, Palestine, respected that decision and recognized those newborn Republics. The international community, represented by the United Nations, expressed its support by admitting those Republics as Members of the United Nations. That support was a reaffirmation of the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter, especially respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, and the inviolability of their their territorial integrity and independence within their internationally recognized borders. Indeed, this reinforced the role of the United Nations and international legitimacy.

We had all hoped that these changes would take place peacefully and on a basis of equity and the brotherhood with the peoples of the Balkans that had long prevailed.

But things took a different turn, especially in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Acts of aggression have been committed against that Republic by its strong neighbour and the Yugoslav army. We are witnessing terrible suffering, inadmissible and horrific actions, a real tragedy. An end must be put immediately to all this. The policy of racist "ethnic cleansing" and the resulting oppression of and crimes against the civilian population in the

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have rightly been condemned. The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being violated, to the anguish and horror of the international community. We share all these feelings.

Palestine expressed its position on the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the stands adopted during the ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries in Bali as well as during the meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Istanbul. The Assembly has been convened now in the framework of those meetings and in the light of the Security Council's failure to discharge its responsibilities vis-à-vis the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina, owing to the double standards used by the Council.

A just solution to the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be found through the application of international legitimacy, as reflected in the Charter of the United Nations and in the relevant Security Council resolutions, and through the adoption - we hope by consensus - of the draft resolution before the Assembly today in document A/46/L.76, as well as the implementation of international humanitarian law.

The credibility and resolve of the United Nations are being tested again today. The test will be whether, in these difficult times, the international community as constituted by the General Assembly and the Security Council applies international legitimacy and all the relevant resolutions without any discrimination and does not resort to double standards, giving preferential treatment to one State over another. Peoples and States will have confidence in the United Nations if it obliges countries to discharge their responsibilities under the Charter and resolutions expressing the

(Mr. Mansour, Palestine)

international will, without exceptions for any State. If that is done, the Organization will be able to exercise its role under the Charter.

In conclusion, we pay a tribute to all the international bodies that are exerting humanitarian efforts to alleviate the suffering in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina - especially the efforts of the organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. We also pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the special role he is playing in this respect. We express our unreserved solidarity with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and we support its right to preserve its unity and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, without any outside interference.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): In accordance with General Assembly resolution 45/6 of 16 October 1990, I now call on the observer for the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Mr. KUNG (International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)): The international community has conferred a clear mandate on the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Since the very beginning of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, our institution has spared no effort: we have brought protection and assistance to the civilian population; we have visited prisoners and enabled them to return home once released; we have provided medical emergency supplies to hospitals.

To carry out all these activities, the ICRC, in conformity with its usual practice, has approached the parties to the conflict with a view to obtaining the facilities necessary to reach all the victims. Such representations were made last year in the context of Croatia and have been continuing since March this year in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Kung, ICRC)

Simultaneously, the ICRC, in its capacity as an impartial, neutral and independent institution, took the initiative of inviting plenipotentiary representatives of all parties to bring about a dialogue and find solutions to the humanitarian issues. They all agreed to comply fully with the provisions of the Geneva Conventions, particularly the third and fourth Conventions, relating to the protection of prisoners and civilians.

What is the situation today? Over a hundred ICRC delegates in former Yugoslavia have so far been allowed to visit more than 20,000 detainees and to distribute hundreds of tons of assistance to tens of thousands of displaced people and other vulnerable groups, in cooperation with the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and other relief organizations. Despite our massive presence, despite the formal commitments by the parties, international humanitarian law has remained almost a dead letter.

The International Committee of the Red Cross must report that today the humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is horrific: the civilian population is not spared; prisoners are ill treated; hospitals and medical installations are attacked; the Red Cross emblem is not respected.

(Mr. Kung, ICRC)

ICRC delegates have not been able to see all prisoners, because of lack of security. Today the towns of Sarajevo, Gorazde and Foca, like most areas of eastern Bosnia, cannot be reached without armed protection.

Civilians are subjected to an unacceptable policy of forced transfers and arbitrary measures, accompanied by ill-treatment, harassment, arrests and even killings. Needless to say, these practices are grave breaches of the provisions of international humanitarian law. Detainees, most of whom are civilians, are not granted the minimum standard of treatment in accordance with the relevant laws.

Faced with a humanitarian situation of such magnitude, the ICRC could not remain silent, and it has appealed to the international community on several occasions, most recently on 29 July and on 13 August, in the framework of United Nations meetings held in Geneva.

Powerless in the face of the near total absence of humanity in this war, the ICRC had to remind the 170 States Parties to the Geneva Conventions of their collective responsibility as enshrined in common Article 1:

> "The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

This shared responsibility is reflected in recent statements made and resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the Human Rights Commission, calling for full compliance with the Geneva Conventions and for the ICRC to be given unimpeded and continuous access to all places of detention.

Such solidarity is an integral and indispensable part of our own action, and I wish here to take the opportunity to express on behalf of the International Committee of the Red Cross our sincere appreciation for this support.

(Mr. Kung, ICRC)

All these efforts are complementary, and the ICRC, within the limits of its mandate, is ready to cooperate with the United Nations, in particular with the newly appointed Special Rapporteur, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Our first priority, however, must remain the independent efforts of the institution to improve the treatment of prisoners and of civilians.

The ICRC has taken note of the decision by the Security Council to have humanitarian convoys protected, if necessary by armed escorts. Let us hope that these will be temporary measures and that the parties to the conflict will soon realize that it is in their own interest to allow humanitarian convoys to cross lines and travel safely in areas under their control.

To conclude, allow me to point out that no one has ever lost a war by complying with the basic principles of humanity. On the contrary, history has shown that respect for civilians and humane treatment of prisoners often constitute the first step towards peace and reconciliation. Humanitarian assistance can in no way be a substitute for a political settlement, and we express the most ardent wish that the upcoming conference in London will open an avenue in this direction.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/46/L.76 and also the amendment contained in document A/46/L.77.

I call on the representative of the Russian Federation to introduce the amendment.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Russian Federation submitted yesterday, 24 August, an amendment to draft resolution A/46/L.76, contained in document A/46/L.77.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

While supporting the basic thrust of the draft resolution for a speedy peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the defence of human rights in that country, the Russian delegation deemed it necessary to submit the amendment because of the need to give the draft resolution proper objectivity in evaluating the extremely complicated situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as described in the Secretary-General's report (S/24049).

The PRESIDENT: The Ambassador of Turkey wants to speak on a point of order. I now call on him.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): We have heard what the representative of the Russian Federation said about the amendment contained in document A/46/L.77. On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/46/L.76, I should like to inform the General Assembly that they have given very careful consideration to the amendment proposed by the Russian Federation and have decided as follows.

The amendment would insert a reference to the presence of Croatian military units in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This reference is derived from the Secretary-General's report of 30 May 1992 (S/24049). The sponsors think it would be inappropriate to make this addition to the eleventh preambular paragraph, because that paragraph and the preceding and following paragraphs have to do with "ethnic cleansing", and paragraph 10 of the Secretary-General's report of 30 May deals not with "ethnic cleansing", but with the presence of Croatian military units in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Furthermore, in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution there is a reference to "elements of the Croatian army now in Bosnia and Herzegovina", so the proposed Russian amendment is also unnecessary; it is superfluous.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

I have one last point. The Secretary-General's report of 30 May alluded to in the Russian amendment contains a great number of elements, most of which refer specifically to the presence of the Yugoslav People's Army in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To quote selectively from the report would be misleading and convey a completely incorrect impression; so in the name of objectivity we should not resort to this procedure.

Consequently, on behalf of the sponsors I should like to move a "no-action motion" in relation to draft amendment A/46/L.77. We appeal to all the members of the Assembly to vote in favour of that motion.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Turkey has moved, under the terms of rule 74 of the rules of procedure, that no action be taken on the amendment contained in document A/46/L.77. Rule 74 reads as follows:

"During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. In addition to the proposer of the motion, two representatives may speak in favour of, and two against, the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote."

I am informed that two representatives wish to speak in favour of the motion, and I shall call on them now.

Mr. MISIC (Bosnia and Herzegovina): The delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina supports the motion presented by the representative of Turkey that no action be taken on the amendment contained in document A/46/L.77. We support the motion for the following reasons:

First, the proposed amendment seeks to bring into the draft resolution obsolete information concerning the involvement of military forces from Croatia on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Secondly, the fact of the matter is that the Croation military units on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are composed of members of the local Croat population, which took arms and opposed the aggression by the Yugoslav People's Army and irregular forces brought in from the territory of Serbia and Montenegro.

Thirdly, some miscoordination in the actions of local Croatian territorial defence forces - the Croatian Defence Council, mainly from the region of Herzegovina - and territorial defence forces of the legally elected Government of the Bosnia and Herzegovina have been ironed out.

(Mr. Misic, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Fourthly, Croatian defence forces are part of the unified military forces of the legally elected Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is evidenced by the agreement on friendship and cooperation concluded on 21 July 1992 between the Presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of Croatia:

"The military division of the Croatian Defence Council forms an integral part of the unitary armed forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Croatian Defence Council shall have its representatives in the joint headquarters of the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

In view of all that, we urge all members to vote in favour of the no-action motion.

Mr. SY (Senegal) (interpretation from French): The representatives of Turkey and of Bosnia and Herzegovina have set out the reasons for which we support the no-action motion on the amendment submitted by the Russian Federation to our draft resolution. All those points show that the amendment is irrelevant and adds nothing to the draft text before the Assembly. Our concern today is not to dwell on obsolete facts, but rather to attack the heart of the problem - the tragedy confronting Bosnia and Herzegovina - and to help find a peaceful, definitive solution.

We in this Assembly must reaffirm and guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country which is a Member of the United Nations. We must put an end to the atrocities of which the population has been the victim. We must authorize the return, under the best possible conditions, of the men, women and children who have been forced to leave their homes. We must take the immediate steps necessary to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

Those are our goals, the goals we wanted to include in draft resolution A/46/L.76. None of the provisions of the draft resolution deviates from those goals. That cannot be said of the proposed amendment; its sole merit, if we can call it that, is that it sows confusion and lumps together two totally unrelated matters.

Therefore, I wish again, on behalf of the delegation of Senegal, firmly to support the no-action motion on the proposed amendment to our draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: As there are no further speakers, I shall now put to the vote the motion submitted by the representative of Turkey that no action be taken on the amendment contained in document A/46/L.77.

The motion was adopted by 69 votes to 9, with 50 abstentions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): We shall therefore proceed to take action on draft resolution A/46/L.76.

Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote before the vote, may I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. VYAS (India): We in India have watched with increasing sadness the disintegration of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a country with which India had a long and fruitful history of cooperation and friendship. It had been our hope that, despite the mistakes made, the misunderstandings generated and the suffering inflicted on the peoples of that country, the new nations born of Yugoslavia would be able to live and prosper in peaceful coexistence. History, unfortunately, dictated otherwise.

(Mr. Vyas, India)

Today we are outraged at the agony of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an independent and sovereign Member of the United Nations. We are appalled at the atrocities that have been perpetrated upon innocent civilians, which have been depicted so graphically by the international media and which have resulted in the death of thousands of innocent men, women and children. We have seen attempts by ethnic groups to expand by force the territory they control, attempts that have led to deadly manoeuvers to starve groups of people into submission, to the abominable and unacceptable phenomenon of "ethnic cleansing" and to an ever-widening circle of bloodshed and hate. We condemn unreservedly and in the strongest possible terms all such practices, regardless of their perpetrators, whether States or groups, wherever they take place. We reaffirm the territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and extend our fullest support to the efforts of its legitimate Government to reintegrate its various religious and ethnic communities to live together in harmony and peace, as indeed they had done for centuries in the past.

Given these circumstances, India stands ready to join with the international community in urging the Security Council to consider taking urgent and effective action, not excluding the use of force, to bring peace to that troubled land. The use of force, however, under Chapter VII of the Charter is a measure of extreme gravity, and we believe that it must be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances and in strict conformity with the principles and procedures laid down in the Charter, under the direct control and command of the United Nations itself.

It is in that light that my country supports the draft resolution before the Assembly.

(Mr. Vyas, India)

The Security Council remains actively seized of the matter. It is our hope that with such concerted action, coupled with the intensive political efforts to be made shortly by the United Nations and the European Community, the London International Conference will succeed in effectively addressing the core of the problem and will bring peace to the young Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. SEZAKI (Japan): Japan is deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cease-fire agreements have not been honoured, and the parties to the conflict show no signs of laying down their arms. Japan strongly urges the parties to the conflict to end their fighting immediately.

One cannot but be appalled by reports of the imprisonment and abuse of innocent civilians in camps and detention centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such practices are in violation of international humanitarian law, and Japan strongly condemns them.

A fundamental political solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through a process of negotiation, is urgently needed. We sincerely hope that the London International Conference will serve to expedite the peace process.

Japan supports the draft resolution before the Assembly. I should like to make it very clear, however, that this does not mean that Japan recognizes Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that Japan's support for the draft resolution does not prejudice Japan's legal position regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. DJOKIC (Yugoslavia): We support the call in the draft resolution in document A/46/L.76 for the achievement of an immediate and effective cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We support the condemnation of the violation of human rights and "ethnic cleansing".

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Regrettably, the draft resolution contains some statements which simply distort facts, and some portions of the draft resolution are not consonant with any real wish to settle the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and restore peace:

First, the sixth paragraph of the preamble contains a statement that has no connection with the item we are discussing now or the draft resolution which its sponsors have presented to the General Assembly.

Second, the seventh paragraph of the preamble, emphasizing the serious deterioration of the living conditions of all the Muslim and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is discriminatory. We wonder why the third constituent nation, the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who constitute one third of the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have been excluded.

Third, neither side in the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is blameless for the violation of human rights and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing", and this should have been clearly reflected in the eleventh paragraph of the preamble to the draft resolution.

Fourth, we are astonished that in operative paragraph 3 the Yugoslav National Army is requested to withdraw from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since it is a well-known fact that the Yugoslav National Army has ceased to exist and that not a single soldier of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains in that territory - as has been unambiguously confirmed by General Nambiar.

Fifth, the request for military intervention is very dangerous, because this means adding new weapons to those being used in the civil war, which would result in more bloodshed, destruction and suffering by the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Djokic, Yugoslavia)

Sixth, one of the major shortcomings of the draft is its failure to support strong negotiations between the three contituent nations living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a peaceful settlement based on the agreement that all three sides have accepted, under the auspices of the European Community, in regard to the future constitutional arrangements of their common State.

For all those reasons, the delegation of Yugoslavia finds the draft partial and therefore unacceptable.

Bearing in mind the importance of the question and the gravity of the situation, we did our utmost to enable the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution by consensus. We put forward our concrete suggestions to tne sponsors, but, unfortunately, our major concerns have not been accommodated. Therefore, we have no other choice but to vote against the draft resolution in document A/46/L.76.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The General Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/46/L.76.

I wish to inform members that the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Austria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, El Salvador, Estonia, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Italy, Malta, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, the Netherlands, Niger, Peru and Qatar.

I now put the draft resolution to a vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mexico, Micronesia (Federated States of), Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: Yugoslavia

Abstaining: Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Russian Federation

Draft resolution A/46/76 was adopted by 136 votes to 1, with 5 abstentions (resolution 46/242).*

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): Before calling on those representatives who wish to explain their vote, I wish to repeat that the resolution represents the position of the international community and the international conscience with regard to a political and humanitarian crisis as well as a crisis of conscience. I hope that the message will reach all those

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* Subsequently the delegation of Antigua and Barbuda advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour.

(The President)

concerned. I hope that they will now know where the international community and the international conscience stand, especially in view of the statements of many of those who spoke during the two meetings yesterday and today's meeting.

I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes. I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): By having the General Assembly make recommendations on issues under consideration by the Security Council, the resolution that we have just adopted exceeds the limits set in Article 12 of the Charter. Nevertheless, the urgency of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the need for a peaceful resolution compelled us to support the resolution.

Mr. PIRIZ-BALLON (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The people and Government of Uruguay view with horror the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our basic humanitarian feelings are offended by policies based on genocide and developed in the name of the abominable pretext of "ethnic cleansing". That is why my country was one of the sponsors of the convening of a special session of the Commission on Human Rights. That is also why we have just closed our embassy in Belgrade in view of the evidence of the serious responsibility of the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro for the tragic events that we have been discussing. That is why, too, we supported the resumption of the forty-sixth session and why we sponsored the possible convening of a special session of the General Assembly. We believe that it is necessary for this body - the main forum of the United Nations and the conscience of the world - to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Piriz-Ballon, Uruguay)

Uruguay's concern about events in that war-torn land is therefore clear. But we must say that we hesitated somewhat about supporting the draft resolution that has just been adopted, for we have always maintained a position of strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter, and we believe the procedures set out in Article 12 are not merely procedural.

However, when we weigh up legal rights to be protected we come to the conclusion that no one should be deprived of fundamental human rights, including the right to life. Although we believe that the terms of the resolution are not in line with decisions of the Security Council, they might guide its future actions, and therefore we trust that this decision by the General Assembly may induce the Security Council to take even more effective action in the future. For those reasons, we voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): On the basis of our position of principle the delegation of the Russian Federation supports and shares the thrust of the resolution that has just been adopted aimed at a speedy settlement of the Bosnian conflict and at defending human rights in that country.

In an attempt to make the draft resolution fully objective in view of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Russian delegation introduced an amendment to the preambular part of the draft resolution. However, that amendment was blocked by the sponsors of the draft resolution. In this connection, we could not, unfortunately, support the draft resolution in its present form, nor could we agree with the attempts to make a selective approach to the Secretary-General's report and evaluation of the very complicated situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Nevertheless, this does not mean that there has been any change in the position of the Russian Federation, which decisively favours the speedy ending of the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and seeks a cessation of the suffering of the people there and the adoption of, if necessary, very stringent measures with respect to the violators of humanitarian law. The Russian Federation will continue consistently to support a peaceful, political settlement of the Bosnian crisis through negotiations.

Mr. FUENTES IBAÑEZ (Bolivia) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Bolivia voted in favour for two reasons of principle. The first is our profound respect for humanitarian law and deep sympathy for the suffering of the non-combatant civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second, a fundamental principle of Bolivia's foreign policy, is a repudiation of any act that constitutes an attempt at the legal justification of the forcible occupation of any territory.

We also have reservations over the way in which certain newly emerged States in a period of transition have been taken into the bosom of the United Nations without a propoer expression of the will of the majority to preserve the harmonious coexistence that existed for many years, as in the case of the States that have emerged from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with which Bolivia always maintained the most cordial relations.

The view of my Government regarding the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been fully expressed in the communique addressed to the President of the Security Council, dated 17 August 1992. We repudiate violence and racial discrimination wherever they may exist and we pray that the parties in conflict will do everything in their power to resolve their differences in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and free from outside pressures.

Mr. SENGWE (Zimbabwe): In explaining its vote the delegation of Zimbabwe would like to place on record that, although it is gravely concerned about the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has serious reservations about the contents of the seventh preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 3. It is our belief that to assign responsibility for the grave situation is not helpful, especially in the light of the reports by the Secretary-General that all parties to the conflict are responsible and should bear part of that responsibility.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote.

I hope that the world will take due account of the message that has been sent today, and that all communities and circles dealing with the issue will realize the importance of the resolution adopted today and of the debate that took place yesterday and today. I wish to thank you all for your cooperation.

We have thus concluded our consideration of agenda item 150.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.